

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01  
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/112 W

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R 291716Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1151  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERN  
/AMEMBASSY BONN 3136  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPEHAGEN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3410

E.O. 11652: GDS  
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TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, PO  
SUBJ: CSCE: SOVIET POSITION ON BELGRADE

SUMMARY: PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY GAVE EMBASSY RUNDOWN  
APR 27 OF POINTS CSCE RAISED BY SOVIET DELEGATION DURING  
VISIT WEEK OF APR 4. CONCLUSIONS THAT GOP DREW FROM VISIT  
WERE THAT SOVIETS ARE PARTICULARLY UNEASY ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION

OF CBM'S AND WIDENING OF CSCE TO MEDITERRANEAN. SOVIETS WILL BE VERY INSISTENT ON QUESTION OF NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND PROPOSAL FOR PAN EUROPEAN CONGRESS. THEY ARE PREPARED TO DESIGN THEIR BELGRADE STRATEGY TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIET DELEGATION: SOVIET DELGATION LED BY AMB YURY DUBININ, HEAD OF EUROPEAN DEPT IN FONMIN AND LEBANOV, CHIEF OF PORTUGUESE SECTION IN FONMIN WAS IN LISBON WEEK OF APR 4 TO PRESENT SOVIET POSITION ON CSCE BELGRADE CONFERENCE. FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF SOVIET POSITION WAS PASSED TO EMBASSY BY PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY:

2. PREPARATORY MEETING: SOVIETS EMPHASIZED "CONSULTATIVE NATURE" OF MEETING. OBJECTIVE OF BELGRADE SHOULD SIMPLY BE TO APPLY DECISIONS OF FINAL ACT WITHIN A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK. THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO MAKE IT A BUREAU FOR ANALYZING COMPLAINTS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING WILL BE HEADED BY A MEMBER OF THE DIRECTING COLLEGIUM OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WHO WILL REPRESENT THE MINISTER. USSR FEELS THAT CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING CSCE IS THREATENED BY ANTI-DETENTE LEADERS. THEY DID NOT INCLUDED PORTUGUESE, OR THEMSELVES, IN THIS CATEGORY.

3. NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: SOVIETS RAISED THIS WITH GOP, SAYING IT WAS DELICATE MATTER AND THEY WERE NOT SURE HOW TO INTRODUCE IT AT BELGRADE. IT IS A PROPOSAL THAT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN AND ONLY CSCE COUNTRIES

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HAVE ENOUGH TRUST TO LEAD TO POSITIVE RESULTS. PORTUGUESE REPLIED THAT ANSWER TO SOVIETS SHOULD BE COLLECTIVE.

4. CBM'S: CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDER WAY, BUT THIS IS NOT TIME TO EXTEND RANGE OF MEASURES. CURRENT SITUATION IS SATISFACTORY IF AGREEMENTS ARE COMPLETELY APPLIED. IDEA OF EXTENDING CBM'S TO MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES WAS "FANTASICALLY INAPPROPRIATE."

5. BASKET II: SOVIETS AGREED WITH GOP THAT EUROPEAN GENEVA TEXT ON PVD'S IS SATISFACTORY. NEITHER SOVIETS NOR GOP HAD PROBLEMS IN BASKET II AREA.

6. ENVIRONMENT: SOVIETS CALLED PORTUGUESE ATTENTION TO PAN EUROPEAN CONGRESS. THEY EXPECTED IT WOULD BE ACCEPTED. DESPITE TECHNICAL COMPLEXITY OF QUESTION, IT HAS DEEP POLITICAL MEANING, JUSTIFYING DISCUSSION AT BELGRADE.

7. MEDITERRANEAN: EUROPE MUST BE PRESERVED FROM

MEDITERRANEAN CONFLICTS. PARTICIPATION OF NON-SIGNATORIES SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND LIMITS OF SECOND PHASE AT GENEVA. A REALISTIC APPROACH TO CYPRUS AND MID EAST PROBLEMS EXCLUDED POSSIBILITY OF INTEGRAL APPLICATION OF FINAL ACT TO RELATIONS BETWEEN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. CBM'S COULD NOT BE USED BETWEEN ISRAELI AND ARABS NOR COULD ISRAEL PARTICIPATE IN BASKET III MEASURES ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

8. CSCE FOLLOW-UP: GOP AGREED WITH SOVIET POSITION THAT PROLIFERATION OF COMMITTEES SHOULD BE AVOIDED. ONE COMMITTEE FOR EACH BASKET PLUS PERHAPS TWO SUBCOMMITTEES FOR MEDITERRANEAN AND BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP WOULD BE ADEQUATE.

9. PORTUGUESE COMMENTS: CONCLUSIONS THAT GOP DREW FROM THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIET DELEGATION WERE THAT SOVIETS ARE PARTICULARLY UNEASY ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF CBM'S AND WIDENING OF CSCE TO MEDITERRANEAN. SOVIETS WILL BE VERY CONFIDENTIAL

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INSISTENT ON QUESTION OF NON-FIRST USE AND PROPOSAL FOR PAN EUROPEAN CONGRESS. THEY ARE PREPARED TO DESIGN THEIR BELGRADE STRATEGY TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. CARLUCCI

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